

The Classical Weekly

Published on Monday, October 1 to May 31, except in weeks in which there is a legal or School holiday (Election Day, Thanksgiving Day, Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Lincoln's Birthday, Washington's Birthday, Easter Sunday, Decoration Day). Place of publication, Barnard College, New York. In the United States of America, \$2.00 per volume; elsewhere \$2.50. Single numbers, to subscribers 15 cents, to others 25 cents. Address Charles Knapp, 1737 Sedgwick Avenue, New York. Entered as second-class matter, November 18, 1907, at the Post Office, New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized June 28, 1918.

VOLUME XXVI, No. 19

MONDAY, MARCH 20, 1933

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REMARKS ON LUCAN'S PHARSALIA¹

1.1.199-203

...summique o numinis instar,
Roma, fave coeptis. Non te furialibus armis
persequor: en adsum victor terraque marique
Caesar, ubique tuus—liceat modo nunc quoque—
miles.

Ille erit, ille nocens, qui me tibi fecerit hostem.

Just before he crossed the Rubicon, Caesar was visited by a vision of Rome which would dissuade him from invading the soil of his country. In his reply, a part of which is quoted above, he protests his devotion to the fatherland, and for any action he may be forced to take he lays the blame at the door of the Pompeian Party.

The last clause cited above would commonly be rendered by 'who shall make me an enemy to you'. But in such a solemn appeal and asseveration of loyalty as Caesar is here making it does not seem in keeping that he should admit even the possibility that he ever would be hostile to his country^{1a}.

In the following notes references are made in the briefest possible way to the views of various scholars; only the name of the scholar is given. For the reader's convenience their names are listed here, and full data are given concerning the works in which their views were explained.

Bourguery: Lucain, La Guerre Civile, Tome I, Livres I-V. Texte Établi et Traduit par A. Bourguery (Paris, Société d'Édition "Les Belles-Lettres", 1926).

Burman: M. Annaei Lucani Pharsalia Cum Commentario Petri Burmanni (Leidae, Apud Conradum Wishoff, Daniele Goetval et Georg. Jacob. Wishoff, Fil. Conrad, 1749).

Curtius: see Weber.

Duff: Lucan With an English Translation by J. D. Duff (The Loeb Classical Library, 1928).

Endt: Ioannes Endt, Adnotationes Super Lucanum (Leipzig, Teubner, 1909).

Farnabius: T. Farnabius, M. Annaei Lucani Pharsalia (London, Richard Field, 1618).

Frænken: C. M. Frænken, M. Annaei Lucani Pharsalia (Lugduni Batavorum, Apud A. W. Siethoff, 1906-1897).

The Green Mountain Boys: this book is by Judge D. P. Thompson, and is published in various forms. <See note 16a, below. C. K.>.

Haskins: C. E. Haskins, M. Annaei Lucani Pharsalia (London, George Bell and Sons, 1887). The Introduction to this work is by W. E. Heitland.

Heinsius: Heinsius's notes are cited here and there by other scholars. Heitland: W. E. Heitland and C. E. Haskins, M. Annaei Lucani Pharsalia Liber Primus (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1875; reprinted in 1890).

Hosius: C. Hosius, M. Annaei Lucani Belli Civilis Libri Decem² (Leipzig, Teubner, 1913).

Housman: A. E. Housman, M. Annaei Lucani Belli Civilis Libri Decem (Oxford, B. Blackwell, 1926).

Lejay: P. Lejay, M. Annaei Lucani De Bello Civili Liber Primus (Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1894).

Lemaire: M. Annaei Lucani Pharsalia, Petrus-Augustus Lemaire, Paris, exudebat A. Pihan Delaforest, 1830-1832.

Postgate: J. P. Postgate, M. Annaei Lucani De Bello Civili Liber VII (Cambridge: At the University Press, Revised Edition, 1927).

van Jever: Ezrae de Clercq van Jever, Specimen Selectarum Observationum in M. Annaei Lucani Pharsaliam (Lugduni Batavorum, Apud Carolus Delfos et Petrus Delfos, 1772).

Weber (as editor of Curtius): Marci Annaei Lucani Pharsalia, Carol. Frider. Weber (Leipzig, C. H. F. Hartmann, 1828-1829).

^{1a}On this ground van Jever proposed to emend *me tibi* (203) to *le mihi*. Lejay seems certainly wrong in his idea that at this point Caesar's words convey a covert threat against the State. <On precisely this ground I should myself take *fecerit* as a perfect subjunctive (conditional). The combination *est... si quis... fecerit* (subjunctive) would be in no way disturbing. To this suggestion Professor Nutting replied that "The river is not yet crossed, and the future perfect indicative fits better with my idea". C. K.>.

As a matter of fact, the Latin expression is somewhat ambiguous, for the dative might signify 'in your eyes', and then the interpretation of the clause would be 'who has forced me to such acts that in your eyes I am an enemy'². It is likely that the Roman reader would be readier than we to recognize the possibility of this more subtle analysis.

As bearing upon the question of interpretation, it may be noted that the Spirit of Rome is made to say of the imminent crossing of the Rubicon (190-192):

Quo tenditis ultra?

Quo fertis mea signa, viri? Si iure venitis,
si cives, huc usque licet.

The alternative of *cives* (192) is *hostes*³; and the Spirit of Rome thus implies that she will regard as an enemy anyone who invades the south bank of the river. But Caesar certainly does not consider that *in fact* he becomes an enemy to his country in crossing the stream. On the contrary, he enters the war in the rôle of champion and protector⁴.

2.1.314-317

Scilicet extremi Pompeium emptique clientes
continuo per tot satiabunt tempora regno?
Ille reget currus nondum patientibus annis?
Ille semel raptos numquam dimittet honores?

After crossing the Rubicon, Caesar was met by Curio, who urged him to push to a conclusion the venture undertaken. Caesar then addressed his soldiers and put the case before them. In the verses cited above he refers with bitterness to the support which has given Pompey special privilege, and which has enabled him to hold offices in unbroken succession.

It is clear that verse 314 refers to the 'machine' which Pompey had built up to further his ambitions⁵; but there is a difference of opinion about the force of *extremi*. Some regard the word as used in the sense of *infimi*, others as referring to persons living at a great distance from Italy.

Neither interpretation is wholly satisfactory. It certainly strains the meaning of *extremi* to make it a reference to persons of low character (*infimi*)⁶. Again, though *extremi* (like *ultimi*) might easily designate peoples actually living at a great distance⁷, the context

¹Such use of the dative is clearly illustrated in Horace, Epistulae 1.16.66 qui metuens vivet, liber *mihi* non erit unquam.

²As observed by Heitland and Haskins in their notes.

³Compare 1.350-351, and the notes of Farnabius, Burman, and Lemaire.

⁴There seems no room for doubt that Caesar is represented as thinking primarily at least of Pompey's career up to date. The use of the future tense appears to be otherwise regarded by A. Preime, De Lucani Pharsalia, 37-38 (Casel, 1859).

⁵In Mnemosyne 18 (1890), 344-345 P. H. Damsté cites Livy 22.29.8 as an example; but in that passage there is a sequence of *primum*, *secundum*, and *extremi*, where 'the last' happen to be the worst. Ovid, Fasti 3.195 is hardly more to the point.

⁷See examples quoted by N. Lundquist, Studia Lucanæ, 120-121 (Holm, 1907).

here appears to call for some direct participation of individuals in the political situation at Rome.

The word which seems to be called for by the context is *externi*. Such a reading indeed is noted by Burman and Lemaire, but it is not reported either by Hosius or by Housman. To it may be due the striking emendation *hesterni*, proposed by Heinsius.

A rather good argument can be made out in support of *externi*.

In the first place, *extremi* could easily be derived from *externi* by corruption. With an inadvertent and mechanical transfer of two letters, *externi* would become *extreni*, and this, if not noticed at once, would naturally be corrected to *extremi*. The confusion of these adjectives is not uncommon in the text of Latin authors.

Furthermore, not only does *externi* fit perfectly Pompey's well known policy of building up a clientele of foreigners, but it plays effectively upon the feeling of dislike or hostility entertained by native Romans for the aggressive intruders from other lands. Compare Lucan 7.404-405:

... nulloque frequentem
cive suo Romam, sed mundi faece repletam....

Some years later, Juvenal expresses his resentment that cheap foreigners have deprived Romans of the means of livelihood at Rome, and that they energetically push their way into favor with prominent patrons⁸.

Allowing possibly for a very slight anachronism, we may say that the term *externi* in Caesar's mouth in the present connection would at one and the same time express his own irritation and scorn, and stir up animosity on the part of the Roman soldiers he was addressing⁹.

In the speech which Petronius devises for Caesar as he invades Italy there is an interesting parallel at this point (122.165-166):

... mercedibus emptae
ac viles operae, quorum est mea Roma noverca.

The last clause of this citation harks back, of course, to the bitter stricture of Scipio Africanus upon the motley crew before which he was questioned by the tribune Carbo, wherein he referred to them as those *quibus Italia noverca est*¹⁰. In Petronius, Caesar is made to add an effective touch by substituting *mea Roma* for *Italia*, thus sharpening the contrast with the alien mob organized to support Pompey¹¹.

In Lucan's version, the reading *externi* obviously would fit this parallel in Petronius far better than does *extremi*.

3.1.504-509

Nullum iam languidus aevo
evaluit revocare parens coniunxve maritum
fletibus, aut patrii dubiae dum vota salutis
consciperent tenere lares nec limine quisquam
haesit et extremo tunc forsitan urbis amatae
plenus abit visu; ruit inrevocabile vulgus.

The news of Caesar's advance into Italy caused the hasty departure of a multitude of persons from Rome.

⁸3.58-125. See my note on Juvenal 3.69-72, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 26.143.

⁹Compare A. Preime (as named in note 5, above), 38, last clause.

¹⁰Valerius Maximus 6.2.3; Velleius Paterculus 2.4.

¹¹Compare again Juvenal's complaint, 3.84-85, Usque adeo nihil est quod nostra infantia caelum hausit Aventini, bacca nutrita Sabina?

As a contrast to this haste, Haskins cites the lingering and unwilling departure of the inhabitants when Alba Longa was evacuated (Livy 1.29.3)^{12a}: ... ut ... nunc in liminibus starent, nunc errabundi domos suas, ultimum illud visuri, pervagarentur.

In the passage from Lucan here in question it is recorded that the stress of the occasion caused the fighting men¹³ to leave home and family without the emotion and demonstration that would be natural to departure upon such an occasion. But it seems not generally recognized that Lucan means to add another striking proof of their state of mind in the words nec ... extremo tunc forsitan urbis amatae plenus abit visu (508-509); so excited are they that they do not even stop to allow to sink into their minds a vivid parting impression of the beloved city—eternal Rome—which they may never see again.

It is likely that the poet is thinking particularly of certain commanding monuments, such as the temples on the Capitol, in which centered the glory and the veneration of the nation.

Roman feeling on this point is well illustrated in the description of the murder of the Emperor Galba. With no heed for the impressive and hallowed surroundings the brutal assassins press on, intent on accomplishing the bloody deed (Tacitus, Historiae 1.40.4):

... Nec illos Capitolii aspectus et imminetium templorum religio et priores et futuri principes terruere quo minus facerent scelus cuius ultor est quisquis successit.

The same strain appears in Ovid's sad and reluctant farewell to the city, as the moon invests its monuments with mystic charm (Tristia 1.3.27-34):

Iamque quiescebant voces hominumque canumque
lunaque nocturnos alta regebat equos.
Hanc ego suspiciens et ad hanc Capitolia cernens,
quae nostro frustra iuncta fuere Lari,
"Numina vicinis habitantia sedibus", inquam,
"Iamque oculis numquam templa videnda meis,
dique relinquendi, quos urbs habet alta Quirini,
este salutati tempus in omne mihi!"^{12b}

4.5.255-260

Non pavidum iam murmur erat, nec pectore tecto
ira latens, nam quae dubias constringere mentes
causa solet, dum quisque pavet quibus ipse timori est,
seque putat solum regnorum iniusta gravari,
haud retinet. Quippe ipsa metus exsolverat audax
turba suos. Quidquid multis peccatur inultum est.

These verses refer to the serious mutiny that, according to Lucan, broke out in Caesar's army after the first Spanish campaign. The men act as a united group, and show none of the timidity natural to an individual malcontent.

The renderings offered for 259-260 seem to miss the force of *ipsa* (259). Haskins translates by "in fact the very number of the daring multitude had dispelled their fears". Duff gives "... For their mere numbers had dispelled their fears and made them bold..."¹⁴

^{12a}For a very interesting note, by Dr. Eugene S. McCartney, on Livy 1.29 as a whole see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 26.128, C. K. >.

^{12b}Compare 504 in bellum fugitur.

¹³Compare also Lucan 1.195-196 O magnae qui moenia prospicis urbis Tarpeia de rupe, Tonans...

¹⁴See also the rendering of Bourgoing, "Car la foule même des révoltés avait dissipé leur craintes".

That *ipsa...turba* does not mean 'very number' is sufficiently indicated by the presence of the modifier *audax* (*turba*); note also the reflexive *suos*¹⁵. Weise justly says, "milites metum exuerant".

As a matter of fact, *ipsa* is used to mark the independent attitude of the united group, and the general sense seems to be 'taking matters into its own hands'¹⁶. The clause may be freely rendered by 'regardless of inhibitions, the emboldened throng had dismissed its fears'^{16a}.

5.7.567-573

Quacumque <Caesar> vagatur,
sanguineum veluti quatiens Bellona flagellum
Bistonas aut Mavors agitans, si verberare saevo
Palladia stimulet turbatos aegide currus,
nox ingens scelerum est; caedes oriuntur et instar
immensae vocis gemitus, et pondere lapsi
pectoris arma sonant confractique ensibus enses.

According to this statement, as Caesar visited the various parts of the field during the Battle of Pharsalus, his progress was marked by a burst of frenzied fighting.

Francken brackets 571-573 on the ground that, though they are excellent verses, they are out of place in this context. He adds, too, that groans are not heard in battle (571-572).

As bearing on the meaning of *instar immensae vocis gemitus*, a citation from the book called The Green Mountain Boys¹⁷ may be illuminating. A small group of noncombatants was witnessing a battle at some little distance, when "the piercing and mingled wail of many voices came wafting on the breeze with awful distinctness to the ear..." A little later, we read, "...The same hideous, though low and distance-mellowed screech, came up again from the spot..." Asked for an explanation, a retired captain said,

It was the groans of the wounded... It is, indeed, a dreadful sound to one not innured to the horrors of war. The first time I ever heard it, I well remember, it made my hair rise upright on my head, and filled me with more terror and dread than the bullets of the enemy. But it does not often occur;... yet it will sometimes happen, when some sudden change in the order of battle is taking place on both sides at the same moment¹⁸.

It will be noted that the parallel extends to the detail that Lucan's description suggests more or less the point of view of an observer so stationed that he can follow the progress of the battle as it develops.

¹⁵Perhaps also the circumstance that *ipsa* is so far separated from *turba* is a factor that should be taken into account.

¹⁶Compare the somewhat similar use of *ipsae* in 7.77. There the meaning seems to be 'without waiting for authorization'. At any rate, it is another instance of taking matters into one's own hands. ^{16a}In many passages *ipse* = 'through one's own initiative', 'through one's own inherent powers', 'unassisted', 'needing no help or stimulus from without', and the like. This is, I think, the sense in the passage discussed by Professor Nutting. C. K. >

¹⁷Book 2, Chapter II. <As Professor Nutting says (note 1, above), this book has been published in many forms. My copy was published by Grosset and Dunlap, New York. It bears no date. The author's Preface is dated in March, 1839. In this copy the text is not divided into "books". The passages quoted by Professor Nutting are to be found in Chapter XXVI, on pages 292, 293. C. K. >

¹⁸The speaker evidently means that the noise of firearms and artillery ordinarily drowned the groans and the cries of the wounded.

6.7.659-666

"Parcite", ait, "superi, cunctas prosternere gentes:
stante potest mundo Romaque superstite Magnus
esse miser. Si plura iuvant mea vulnera, coniunx
est mihi, sunt nati; dedimus tot pignora fati.
Civiline parum est bello, si meque meosque
obruit? Exiguæ clades sumus orbe remoto?
Omnia quid laceras? Quid perdere cuncta laboras?
Iam nihil est, Fortuna, meum".

So Pompey prays, when he realizes that he has lost the Battle of Pharsalus. The closing clause (666) has been variously understood¹⁹.

Pompey's appeal, though brief, seems, as a whole, well rounded, and the ending should perhaps be interpreted in the light of what precedes. He first assumes that this heavy blow is aimed at him personally; he urges that the gods may satisfy their anger without wrecking the whole world; and, if his own suffering is not enough, he offers his wife and his sons as additional victims.

Summing up his plea, he concludes by protesting against the general ruin of the world, inasmuch as he has offered all that he has, i. e. himself and his family. The force of the last verse then would be, 'I have held nothing back'. This understanding of the verse adds a closing touch of pathos to Pompey's words.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

H. C. NUTTING

HORACE, CARMINA 1.9.13-18

Quid sit futurum cras fuge quaerere et
quem fors dierum cumque dabit lucro
appone, nec dulcis amores
sperne puer neque tu choreas,
donec virenti canities abest
morosa.

Scaliger regarded *tu* (16) as otiose and inserted to fill the line. Bentley took issue with this view¹, and the great majority of the editors side with him.

It is generally agreed that *tu* is a mark of emphasis. Some hold that the subject of the clause is stressed; Smith² says, "the insertion of the pronoun with the second verb points the exhortation with special emphasis at the person addressed,—"However it may be with others, don't *you*, at any rate, etc.'" Many are of the opinion that it is the admonition or exhortation that is emphasized³.

For the first of these views there seems to be little support in parallel passages; and the idea that it is the clause that is stressed is not well borne out by other examples, e. g. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 13.455-459:

utque Neoptolemum stantem ferrumque tenentem
utque suo vidit figentem lumina vultu,
"Utere iamdudum generoso sanguine", dixit,
"(nulla mora est!), aut *tu* iugulo vel pectore telum
conde meo!"

As Polyxena here calls upon Neoptolemus to strike the fatal blow, her tone is emotional indeed, but the em-

¹See the comment in Endt, the scholiast (as quoted by Weber), and the notes of Curtius (as reported by Weber), Lemaire, Francken, and Postgate. See his note.

²See the note in his edition, and also the comments in the edition by T. E. Page, and in that by Paul Shorey and Gordon J. Laing.

³Consult the notes of Anthon, Nauck, Moore, Schütz, and Wickham. Compare also Wickham on Horace, *Epistulae* 1.11.22.

phasis upon the two clauses is equal; in fact, the second is practically a repetition of the first. See further Lucan 2.637-639:

nec Pharnacis arma relinquo
admoneo, nec *tu* populos utraque vagantis
Armenia . . .

In these verses Pompey instructs his son concerning some of the peoples he is to visit with a view to enlisting them in the war against Caesar. The tone is not emotional, and the balance between the clauses cited is even; the son is instructed not to neglect one thing nor yet (*nec tu*) another, just as in the Horatian passage above, which Gow⁴ rendered by "nor dances either". Add Juvenal 11.28-33:

sive
coniugium quaeras vel sacri in parte senatus
esse velis (neque enim lorica poscit Achillis
Thersites, in qua se traducebat Ulixes),
ancipitem seu *tu* magno discrimine causam
protegere adfectas. . . .⁵

The reference here is to various ambitions in regard to which one should proceed warily; there is no special emphasis of any sort on the final clause. This last is true also of Seneca, Hercules Furens 1246-1249:

Per sancta generis sacra, per ius nominis
utrumque nostri, sive me altorem vocas
seu *tu* parentem, precor⁶.

It bears very closely upon this problem that pronouns other than *tu* are found in like use; compare e. g. Horace, Sermones 1.6.122-123. . . post hanc vagor, aut ego lecto aut scripto quod me tacitum iuvet, unguor olivo; Terence, Adelphoe 306-307 quem neque fides neque ius iurandum neque *illum* misericordia repressit neque reflexit. . . .⁷

That there is a stylistic consideration involved in such cases is suggested by Cortius⁸ in his note on Lucan 2.637, and by Nauck and Anthon in their comments on the passage from Horace's Carmina here under discussion.

In fine, these pronominal uses seem to qualify very little the meaning of the clauses in which they stand⁹; and, whatever the origin of the construction may be¹⁰, it appears to be hardly more than a formal rhetorical flourish in such passages as have been discussed above¹¹.

⁴In fact there the scale of emphasis from the first clause to the second seems downward rather than upward.

⁵Hart and Heinrich are influenced in their comment by the general structure of this sentence.

⁶Compare also Horace, Epistulae 1.2.63; Ovid, Amores 2.11.11; Lucan 6.599; and, perhaps, Juvenal 8.228.

⁷Of the use of the pronoun here Donatus says, "abundat". For other examples with *ille* see Statius, Thebais 5.405; Vergil, Aeneid 5.457, etc.

⁸As reported by Weber.

⁹Compare the lack of stress in the use of the pronoun in the second clause of a somewhat colloquial English example "Begone, and don't you dare to come back."

¹⁰It is commonly assumed to be a Hellenism.

¹¹In the note in the Shorey-Laing edition of Horace, on Carmina 1.9.16, there is a citation from Tennyson, Love and Duty, "Should my shadow cross thy thoughts. . . remand it *thou*". Though in strict logic otiose, the obsolete pronoun accords well with the measured solemnity of the verse, and its use may thus be said to be something more than a merely formal rhetorical touch.

¹²In the third paragraph of his paper Professor Nutting admits that in Ovid, Metamorphoses 13. 458-459 the emphasis on the two clauses is equal. In fact he admits this with respect also to Lucan 2.637-639, Juvenal, and Horace, Carmina 1.12.13-16, the immediate subject of his paper.

I accept this statement about the even distribution of emphasis between the two clauses in all these passages. But I cannot accept the view that the personal pronoun in these passages is without emphasis, in fact virtually without force at all. I think it is em-

It may be of interest here to compare the part played by pronouns in connection with *quidem*, when the latter is to be followed by an adversative word; compare e. g. Cicero, Tusculanae Disputationes 1.9. . . Nam si solos eos diceris miseros quibus moriendum esset, neminem *tu quidem* eorum qui viverent exciperes. . . . esset *lumen* miseriae finis in morte. . . .

In connections like this, the function of the pronoun seems to be little more than to furnish a peg on which to hang the adverb¹².

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H. C. NUTTING

CICERO'S RECOVERY OF HIS PALATINE SITE

Few public servants of ancient times ever had a more industrious enemy than Cicero had in Clodius. The latter's hostility to the orator took root in 61 B. C. when Cicero refused to substantiate Clodius's alibi in connection with the charge that had been brought against him that he had committed sacrilege in May of the previous year by intruding his presence into the festival of the Bona Dea, from which men were rigorously excluded¹. Clodius maintained that he had been at Interamna, fifty miles from Rome. Cicero testified that only three hours before the sacrilege he and Clodius had been together in Rome. Clodius escaped punishment by bribing the judges at the trial. From this time on he used every opportunity within his power to humiliate and to harass the man who had publicly proved him a liar.

One phase of the tribune's attempt to ruin Cicero had to do with the latter's property on the Palatine, acquired from M. Licinius Crassus during the year

phatic in all the cases Professor Nutting cites, and that it applies with equal emphasis to the two clauses.

What, then, of the position of the pronoun in these passages? In the revised (1928) version of my edition of Aeneid 1-6, etc. in the Introduction, § 235, I wrote as follows (I omit the macrons here):

"Position of the Common Subject of Two Clauses.—The common subject of two clauses is often set in the second clause. The Romans, of course, read straight ahead, as we read English, prose or verse; hence, the postponement of the common subject of two clauses presented no great difficulty to the Roman reader, as it would present little or none to the hearer (§ 253). Examples in Vergil are iv. 154-155 *transmittunt . . . campos atque agmina cervi . . . glomerant*, 'stags fling (themselves; see § 151) across the plains and mass their companies'; iv. 170-171 *neque . . . fama . . . movetur nec iam furitum Dido meditat amor*, 'Dido is not moved by what men say, and there is no stealth now in the passion she practices.'"

In the Index to the first version of my edition of Aeneid 1-6, etc., I list other examples of this usage in the Aeneid: 4.353 *admonet in terris et turbida terret imago*, . . . 5. 527-528 *caelo ceu saepe refixa transcurret crinemque volantis sidera ducunt*, . . . 7. 71-72 *castis adolet dum altaria taedis et iuxta genitorem astat Lavinia virgo*, . . . 12. 641-642 *occidit infelix ne nostrum dedecus Ufens aspiceret*, . . . 12.785 *procurrit fratrique ensem dea Daunia reddit*, 12.828 *occidit, occiderique sinas cum nomine Troia*.

In all these passages, surely, the balance is to be held even between the two clauses. Further, in all the passages the postponement of the joint subject of the two clauses gives the subject emphasis. Finally, the rhythm which the poet obtains by the postponement of the joint subject is in all these passages impressive.

I believe that in Horace, Carmina 1.12. 13-16, etc., we have precisely the same phenomenon. In all these passages the pronoun is emphatic, with an emphasis that applies equally to the two clauses. The rhetorical effect also is good. In Lucan 2.637-639 the sense logically is *nec . . . arma relinquo . . . nec tu populos* . . . (the insertion of *admoneo* does not alter the imperative value of the clause in which it stands). In Terence, Adelphoe 306-307 *illum* is to my mind distinctly emphatic; it makes me think of one of Vergil's ways of using *ille* (see e. g. Aeneid 1.3 *multum ille et terris iactatus et alto*, . . . C. K.).

¹²Compare 1.6 *optimis illis quidem viris, sed non satis eruditis*: 1.22 *Democritum . . . magnum illum quidem virum, sed levius et rotundis corpusculis efficientem animum concursu quodam fortuito, omittamus*, . . .

¹³This interesting adventure of Clodius is told by Plutarch, Caesar 9-10, Cicero 18-19.

after the orator's notable consulship, i. e. in 62 B. C. Cicero had been forced to borrow about \$140,000 to buy the mansion. He wrote to P. Sestius, a proquaestor in Macedonia, that he was regarded as good security, and so had found no difficulty in obtaining money at the relatively low rate of six per cent.² In 61, as is noted above, Cicero roused the antagonism of Clodius. The latter laid elaborate plans for his revenge. In 59 he effected his adoption into a plebeian family. In the following year he became a candidate for the tribunate. He was elected to that office and in less than four months had effected the exile of Cicero. Immediately he caused the orator's home to be burned, and then, by dedicating on the spot a temple to the goddess Liberty, strove to make it impossible for Cicero ever to regain the ground. He felt certain that, even if Cicero should be permitted to return from exile, he could not come into the possession of his property again because of its consecration to religious uses. There was an element in Rome that thought the choice of Liberty as the goddess of the temple quite appropriate, for in connection with the Catilinarian conspiracy Cicero had condemned Roman citizens to death without trial. It was convenient for Clodius to forget that he had himself been a staunch friend of Cicero in the days when the latter was fighting Catiline.³

Clodius, the tribune, had another interest in destroying Cicero's house and in building a temple on its site. He too had a house on the Palatine, so near to the exile's property that he was able to run an *ambulatio* or promenade three hundred feet long from his property to Cicero's.

Cicero's wife Terentia met with considerable fortitude the real estate difficulties of the family during her husband's exile. She informed him of the ruin that had overtaken their property. In his anguish he lamented that he had not remained in Rome to fight his exile. He was determined to regain his property, if he should be permitted to return to Rome. We perceive something of his resolution in his statement to his wife: "... As to what you say about our town house, or rather its site, I shall not consider myself fully restored, until it has also been restored. However, these things are not yet within our grasp..." He assumed that he would be indemnified for his house that had been burned, but he knew there would be some question as to whether or not the *pontifices* would permit him to have his lot on the Palatine.

But it was no easy matter for Cicero's friends to bring about his recall. It was the effrontery of Clodius in his treatment of Pompey that roused Pompey, then one of the triumvirs. Solely because Cicero was an enemy of Clodius, Pompey worked for his recall, knowing that the popular orator would upon his return strike a severe blow at the power of this noisy tribune.

After an absence of sixteen months Cicero was permitted to return home. His trip through Italy was one

long triumphal march. The nation welcomed him back to its heart, but he had no home. Under the guise of religion he had been robbed. It then became his immediate aim to regain the site of his house and to win damages for the mansion that had been burned. The Senate handed the matter over to the *pontifices*. Before that body the returned exile delivered a lengthy oration, known as *Pro Domo Sua*. He thought this effort of considerable value, for he wrote to Atticus⁴, "... I pleaded my cause with care, and if I ever was worth anything as a speaker, or even if I never was on any other occasion, on this one at any rate my indignation at the business, and the importance of it, did add a certain vigour to my style..." Posterity has not accepted Cicero's opinion of this speech. Therein he strove to establish the point that Clodius should not be regarded as a lawful tribune for the reason that, in joining the ranks of the plebeians, Clodius had violated the laws of adoption⁵. Cicero went on to say that, though he would by no means concede in fact that Clodius was a lawful tribune, he would admit it for the sake of argument. Even so, he pointed out, the consecration was irregular, because neither the will of the *pontifices* nor that of the people had been sought in the matter. To Clodius's brother-in-law had been given the task of consecrating the new temple. Cicero pointed out that, in the blessing of a new temple, one asks who performed the dedication, what was dedicated, and how it was done⁶. Clodius's son-in-law had very recently been made a *pontifex*. Could one trust the blessing of a new, untrained priest? This was his first religious act as a *pontifex*. Did he fulfill the details of the ritual exactly? Would not the hand of such a novice grow numb, the tongue mute, the spirit weak when he perceived that he was being made the tool of another's impiety⁷? Priests were then, as ever, most punctilious in the carrying out of ritual, and Cicero played up this superstition in addressing the Collegium Pontificum. He piously asserted that there should exist no doubt in such important matters, but he asked who could reasonably fail to doubt the validity of the blessing in question? Then he called attention to *what* was dedicated. The statue representing Liberty was that of a prostitute of Tanagra, a sepulchral ornament carried off from the tomb by a thief and located where it was by a sacrilegious rascal. Moreover, a priest might dedicate the doorposts of a temple, but who had ever heard of dedicating a promenade? Early in the speech⁸ Cicero feigned ignorance of the sacred lore of the priesthood; it was not the business of a mere layman, untutored in the details touching the worship due to the gods, to speak about the more recondite matters of their awful knowledge, but he made it plain that, in his opinion, that priest would be very superstitious indeed who would hold his property on the Palatine sacred.

This appeal to the *pontifices* was made by Cicero on the last day of September. Their decree was as follows¹⁰: "... If neither by order of the people nor vote of the

²Ad Familiares 5.6.2.

³Plutarch, Cicero 29.

⁴Ad Familiares 14.2.3. The translation is by Evelyn Shuckburgh. See The Letters of Cicero, The Whole Extant Correspondence in Chronological Order, Translated into English, By Evelyn S. Shuckburgh, 1.171 (Four Volumes. London, George Bell and Sons, 1899, 1899, 1900, 1900).

⁵Ad Atticum 4.2.2, translated by Shuckburgh (1.180-190. See note 4, above).

⁶Pro Domo Sua 13-14.

⁷Ibidem, 49.

⁸Ibidem, 52.

⁹Ibidem, 12.

¹⁰Ad Atticum 4.2.3, translated by Shuckburgh, 1.190 (see note 4, above).

plebs the party alleging that he had dedicated had been appointed by name to that function, nor by order of the people or vote of the plebs had been commanded to do so, we are of the opinion that the part of the site in question may be restored to M. Tullius without violence to religion..." On the day after he had delivered his speech *Pro Domo Sua* the Senate met to discuss the legal points involved. M. Lucullus, in the name of the *pontifices*, stated that they had decided the religious phase of the matter and that now it was the duty of the Senate to consider the law. The senators in turn gave lengthy arguments in favor of Cicero. When it was Clodius's turn to speak, he tried to filibuster, but, after holding the floor for three hours, he was obliged to make his peroration on account of the noisy hostility of the Senate. That august body returned to the exile his site, and the consuls estimated the value of the building. He received about \$80,000 for his house on the Palatine, together with smaller amounts for his villas. Cicero might reasonably have expected a better settlement. As stated above, he had about four years before its destruction borrowed \$140,000 to pay for his Palatine home. The loss he sustained was therefore considerable, but he took what was offered by the Senate and the consuls. He told Atticus that the real reason why he had been dealt with so illiberally by the senators was that they were unwilling that his wings should grow again to their old size.

Clodius next attempted to obstruct the building of Cicero's house. On November 3, a little over a month after the site had been returned, Clodius's henchmen drove the workmen off and destroyed the portico of Catulus, which was being built at the command of the Senate and which was now ready for the roof. The same mob demolished the nearby home of Quintus Cicero by first hurling stones at it and then by setting it afire. In 56 Clodius had become aedile. In that same year many ill omens occurred¹¹. The soothsayers explained that the displeasure of the heavens was caused by the fact that some temples or consecrated sites were being used for residence. Clodius went to Cicero's house and would have razed it to the ground again if Milo had not prevented him, for the aedile would have it that Cicero's impiety had displeased the gods. In an undated letter to Atticus, written at Arpinum, probably in April or in May of the same year, Cicero had asked his friend to hire some guards to watch his house and to warn Milo to keep an eye on the place¹². Perhaps it was this vigilance that saved Cicero's property. Eventually the house on the Palatine was built, for we read in a letter by Cicero to his brother Quintus, written on September 28, 54, that Quintus's house was under roof and that his own town house had all the charm of a suburban villa¹³.

We have concerned ourselves solely with the trouble and expense Clodius caused Cicero with reference to his house on the Palatine. This is only one phase of the persecution, but it cost the orator untold anguish and considerable loss in money, since the senatorial in-

demnity did not cover the loss on the building. It is difficult to understand the implacable zeal with which Clodius pursued Cicero, especially when one remembers that the secret intruder into the festival of the Bona Dea was freed of the charge of sacrilege. We do not know Clodius's side of the argument. Most of our information on the subject has come down to us from Cicero himself, and he never minimizes his own cause. But the words of Plutarch are interesting in connection with the trial of Clodius. He wrote¹⁴: "...it was thought that Cicero did not give his testimony for the truth's sake, but by way of defence against the charges of his own wife Terentia. For there was enmity between her and Clodius on account of his sister Clodia, whom Terentia thought to be desirous of marrying Cicero... being a woman of harsh nature, and having sway over Cicero, she incited him to join in the attack upon Clodius and give testimony against him..." If Cicero invented or exaggerated his testimony at the trial to clear himself with his wife, or if he was more vehement than just in stating his evidence, he certainly paid dearly for the fault.

EASTERN ILLINOIS STATE TEACHERS
COLLEGE, CHARLESTON, ILLINOIS

KEVIN GUINAGH

PRIMIS AB ANNIS, VERGIL, AENEID 2.87

In THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 26.86 (January 9, 1933) Dr. B. W. Mitchell, in a review of Virgil and Other Latin Poets, edited by J. B. Greenough, G. L. Kittredge, and Thornton Jenkins, speaks of "the traditional, but now obsolete interpretation... of *primis ab annis* <in Vergil, Aeneid 2.87> as 'from my earliest years'...", and in 26.95 (January 16), when he is reviewing another school-book (Fourth Latin, by Miss Carlisle and Miss Davidson), he reproves its authors also for retaining the same "traditional obsolescence..."

The meaning of the phrase has been disputed from the days of the Daniel-Servius down. Dr. Mitchell has a perfect right to declare his preference for one or the other of the possible interpretations (*aut adolescentiae aut belli*, says the Daniel-Servius), but why should he call either interpretation obsolete?

In his recent edition of the Aeneid (1930) Professor J. W. Mackail not only retains the rendering rejected by Dr. Mitchell, but even defends it as "a stroke of subtle art..." Though the phrase is apparently inconsistent with Sinon's reference to his *dulcis natos*, Professor Mackail holds that "...In both places Sinon is saying, without regard for consistency, what will appeal most at the moment to the pity of his hearers".

I may add that in the revised edition of my translation of Vergil in The Loeb Classical Library, now in press, I also am retaining this rendering, which has the support of many eminent scholars, and which seems to me the more natural as well as the more artistic of the two possible interpretations.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY HENRY RUSHTON FAIRCLOUGH

¹¹See Cicero, *De Responsis Haruspicum*, and Dio Cassius 29.20.
¹²Ad Atticum 4.7-3. ¹³Ad Q. Fratrem 3.1.14.

¹⁴Plutarch, Cicero 29.2-3, translated by Bernadotte Perrin (The Loeb Classical Library, 7.155).

CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS

VII

The Illustrated London News—July 30, Rich Archaeological Harvest from Rhodes: Discoveries at the "White City" of Homer and Other Sites; New Gems of Aegean Pottery, Gold-work, and Sculpture, Giulio Jacopi [with fifteen photographic illustrations. "The Survey of Monuments and Excavations in the Italian Islands of the Aegean, under the direction of the present writer, is continuing its extensive and varied work of excavation, having for its object to illustrate the ancient civilisation of Rhodes and the surrounding islands..."]; August 13, Dura-Europos Discoveries: ... The Earliest Church with Mural Decorations; Pagan Sculptures and Painting; Roman Army Papyri, Clark Hopkins [with sixteen photographic illustrations. "Most astounding of all was the recovery of a Christian Chapel, since nothing found in the previous campaigns had suggested a Christian community at Dura... <It is> the earliest Church with mural decorations yet discovered..."]; September 24, A Cypriote Mystery: A Unique Discovery of Archaic Sculpture on the Site of a Sacred Enclosure, Einar Gjersted [with thirteen photographic illustrations. This article describes the discoveries made by the Swedish Archaeological Expedition at Ajia Irmi, "a small village in the western part of the north coast of Cyprus... The excavations proved that the history of the cult dated back to the end of the Bronze Age, about 1200 B. C.... Thanks to the fact that continuous series of sculptures from successive periods were found separated from each other on the different levels of the successively raised floor of the temenos, the study of Cypriote art history, as represented by its early sculpture, can now be based on an archaeologically safe foundation..."]; October 1, Mesopotamia Sheds Light on Ancient India: Important Discoveries at Tell Asmar, on the Sight of Eshnunna, A Vassal Kingdom Under Ur of the Chaldees About 2200 B. C., Henry Frankfort [with twelve photographic illustrations, one ground plan, and one reconstruction drawing. "... importations from India were arriving in the neighborhood of modern Baghdad by about 2600 B. C. As our work on this part of Tell Asmar is only just begun, we are hoping to get further evidence as to the unexpected trade relations which existed in Sargon's days between the valleys of Indus and Tigris; and it is, perhaps, even permissible to hope for a bilingual document which would give the key for the decipherment of the Indus script"]; October 22, The Cave of the Cumaean Sibyl: A Great Archaeological Discovery, Professor Maiuri [with two photographic illustrations. "... there had also been found and excavated <during the years 1925-1930> the gigantic subterranean gallery traversing the whole of Mount Cuma, for a length of about 200 metres from east to west... A few steps away from the already

discovered gallery, a fault in the mountain and dense vegetation concealed the true cave of the oracular cult. The way of access thereto was a subterranean passage cut out in the tufa and used by local peasants as a storage place for agricultural implements and wine. The magnificent gallery, fully 120 metres (about 125 yards) long, cut in trapezoidal shape with twelve smaller lateral galleries, all filled with earth, but of Greek workmanship and pattern led to that unique enclosure at the far end, as the *dromos* of a tomb leads to sepulchral chamber..."]; November 28, A Christmas Dip Into the Odyssey: Odysseus and the Sirens, C. E. Byles [with one colored illustration. This is a poem containing a condensed version of Odyssey 12.166-200]; December 3, Presents of Other Days: Treasures of Antique and Mediaeval Jewellery Recently Exhibited in Berlin [eleven photographic illustrations accompanied by an explanatory note]; December 10, Cyprus 4000 Years Ago: Early Bronze Age Script; Snake Worship; and a Scene of Archaic Ploughing [ten photographic illustrations accompanied by an explanatory note prepared by P. Dikaos]; December 24, A Roman Kiln at Rochester [one photographic illustration with a descriptive caption].

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY,
MIDDLETOWN, CONNECTICUT

ADOLPH F. PAULI

SUETONIUS, NERO 33.1

It is related that in many ways Nero showed disrespect to the memory of his granduncle and adoptive father, the Emperor Claudius. As a final touch, Suetonius adds (Nero 33.1): ...denique bustum eius consaeperi nisi humili levique maceria neglexit.

The passive infinitive *consaeperi* seems generally not to have attracted the attention of the editors. The translation in The Loeb Classical Library, by Professor John C. Rolfe, reads as if the active form had been used by Suetonius: "he neglected to enclose the place where his body was burned..."

Comparison should be made with Suetonius, Tiberius 41: ... Armeniam a Parthis occupari, Moesiam a Dacis Sarmatisque, Gallias a Germanis vastari neglexerit.

Here there can be no doubt about the force of the passive infinitive construction. The Emperor ignored the fact that these hostile operations were in progress¹. The infinitive clause serves as a direct object.

In Suetonius, Nero 33.1 the sense is that Nero gave no heed to the scant honoring of the place of Claudius's burning, i. e. he did not intervene and arrange for a proper marking of the spot².

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

H. C. NUTTING

¹So Bremi in his note on this passage. He gives also a cross-reference to Nero 33.1.

²Compare the translation by A. Stahr (Caius Suetonius Tranquillus, Die Zwölf Caesaren [Munich, 1912]): "... Endlich liess er aus Nichtachtung seine Brandstätte nur mit einer niedrigen und schlechten Mauer umgeben".

³In 1903, Professor Joseph B. Pike, of the University of Minnesota, edited Gai Suetoni Tranquilli De Vita Caesarum Libri III-VI: Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero (Boston, Allyn and Bacon). In Suetonius, Tiberius 41, he translates *neglexerit* by "he disregarded the fact that". He adds, "... Note that the infinitives *occupari* and *vastari* are in object clauses". In his notes on Nero 33.1 Professor Pike says not a word about the syntax of the sentence discussed by Professor Nutting!

I take it that Professor Nutting would translate thus the two passages he treats in his note: "he disregarded the fact that his burial-place was being fenced about <by nothing> except..." and "he disregarded the fact that Armenia was being occupied by..." C. K. >

¹A brief account of early civilization in the Indus valley is quoted from Antiquity by Charles Knapp in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 26.31-32.

TACITUS, ANNALES, 2.71

After his campaigns in the north, Germanicus was sent to the Orient to adjust matters there. His commission was general in its character, and it gave him precedence over all other officers in that part of the world.

However, Cn. Piso was at the same time appointed Governor of Syria. Tacitus believed that this action was taken by Tiberius to embarrass and handicap Germanicus. In any case, Piso made himself as troublesome and insubordinate as possible. He was ably seconded by his wife Plancina, who was thought to have been instigated by Livia Augusta (the latter was by no means friendly to Germanicus and his family).

Whatever the facts may have been, Germanicus fell ill and died, with strong suspicion on the part of some that he had been poisoned through the agency of Piso and Plancina. According to Tacitus, Germanicus himself believed that they were guilty of bringing about his death. In *Annales* 2.71 he is represented as making a death-bed address to his friends in which he laments his hard fate; in this address he represents himself (§ 3) as *scelere Pisonis et Plancinae interceptus* . . .

In regard to this address Furneaux (in his *editio maior*) comments thus: "This speech is evidently a rhetorical composition; but Tacitus may probably have followed some traditional version".

A somewhat different way of looking at the matter is suggested by the striking similarity of this address and the Latin version of the speech which Hercules delivered when he was sinking under the torture inflicted by the poisoned robe which Deianira had provided for him. The original appears in the *Trachiniae* of Sophocles (1046-1102). For the Latin version see Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* 2.20-22.

The general setting of the speeches of Hercules and Germanicus is the same. In the opening books of the *Annals*, from the standpoint of Tacitus, at any rate, Germanicus is the hero of the story¹. We thus have to do with the dying addresses of two great men, each thinking himself to be the victim of foul play, through the use of poison. The parallel extends also to all important details.

(1) *Reference to Sufferings*.—In his reference to his sufferings Hercules is much the more diffuse. Among other things he says, in Cicero's version:

Accede, nate, adsiste: miserandum aspice
evisceratum corpus laceratum patris.

The parallel in the speech of Germanicus lies in the brief expression *quibus acerbitatibus dilaceratus*. But the choice of verb is striking, because *dilacero* is a very rare word in Tacitus², and because it so readily might hark back to the account of the physical torture of Hercules (note *laceratum* in the couplet above).

¹In 2.73 Tacitus entertains a comparison of Germanicus with Alexander the Great which is not wholly favorable to that distinguished conqueror.

²*Annales* 6.6.2, 15.57.1.

(2) *Demand for Vengeance*.—Hercules appeals to his son to avenge him upon Deianira:

O nate, vere hoc nomen usurpa patri:
ne me occidentem matris superet caritas.
Huc arripe ad me manibus abstractam piis.
Iam cernam, mene an illam potiorum putes.

In calling upon the friends who were about him, Germanicus says, *Erit vobis locus querendi apud senatum, invocandi leges*.

(3) *Humiliation at Being Brought Low by a Woman*.—After enumerating past conflicts in which he had been victorious, Hercules adds, *Sed feminae vir feminea interimor manu*. Germanicus says of himself, <men will lament that> *tot bellorum superstitem <me> muliebri fraude cecidisse* . . .

Of course Piso was in the foreground, and it was he who was accused and put on trial for the murder of Germanicus as soon as he returned to Rome³. Whatever Tacitus's reasons for ignoring him at this point, by representing Germanicus as laying the blame at the door of Plancina⁴ he achieves close parallel to the words of Hercules.

(4) *Claim to Pity*.—In the address to his son Hylas, Hercules continues: *Perge, aude, nate, inlacrima patris pestibus, miserere*. Germanicus says, *inlacrimabunt quondam florentem <me> . . . cecidisse* . . . This is interesting again because *inlacrimo* is a verb rarely used by Tacitus⁵.

(5) *Assumption of Universal Sympathy*.—Hercules says, *Gentes nostras flebunt miseras* . . . Germanicus says, *Flebunt Germanicum etiam ignoti* . . .

Germanicus elsewhere is represented as of very unassuming character. Hence this little touch of self-appreciation sits somewhat awkwardly upon him. But it is easily explainable, if Tacitus had Cicero's verses in mind⁶; and the effect is toned down a little by the use of *etiam ignoti* (as against *gentes* in the statement of Hercules).

If, in the light of the observations here made, these speeches are placed side by side and carefully examined, most readers probably will be convinced that the two are in some way related⁷.

It certainly is not without interest in this connection that, when Tacitus was describing the battle of his hero Agricola at Mons Graupius⁸, he manifestly modelled the account upon Caesar's exploit at Pharsalus⁹.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

H. C. NUTTING

³Plancina escaped for the time being.

⁴Possibly with a suspicion in the background that Livia Augusta was implicated.

⁵*Annales* 6.19.4, 12.47.9, 14.10.4; *Historiae* 3.84.7.

⁶At this point in particular the speech of Germanicus resembles the Latin version more than it resembles the Greek original of the lament of Hercules, e. g. in the use of *flebunt*, here in the transitive sense (i. e. for *dessebunt*), which can be matched in but one other passage in Tacitus (*Annales* 6.10.1).

⁷The much discussed play Hercules Oetaeus, ascribed to Seneca, appears to concern not at all the present discussion.

⁸*Agricola* 35-37.

⁹See my remarks in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 23 (1929), 65-66.

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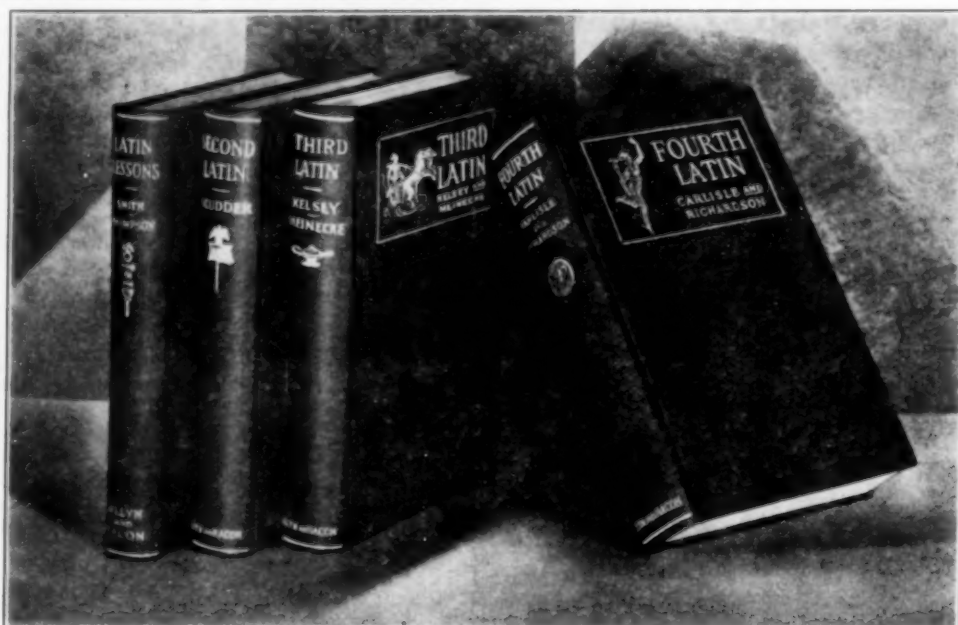
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